/115 cont./
101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore
the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic
identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no
tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the
Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the
"people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution,
no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance
of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general
and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of
geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have
traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages,
which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.
101 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more
621 extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama;
their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which
one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer
that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village
name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the
Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the
829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for
the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their think-
ing to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the
foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits
and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange
101 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs;
621 village membership is the decisive political and sociological
characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually
oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;
[[162] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village
is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi
south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/119 cont./
000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village
unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the
subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation
of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but,
on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common
inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears
in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance
conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements,
which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
● [361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively
permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at
least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days
of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest
a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to
provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried
262 children. The new place is chosen according to the
245 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
174 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
166 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About
every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies
of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main
village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that
there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally
preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food
on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the
past.

Surára
Pakidái

/10 cont./

114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-[824]work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot [352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened [354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

342 114 [847] Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also men-
361 114 tioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians
[622] told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

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49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered
with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north
of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths
[342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten
of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling
seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining
fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's
[241] hut. Around the camp, roças (forest clearings) have been laid
out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet
[221] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every
year between the months of October and December. In the
[756] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always
trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief
and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain
ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as
a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

Surára
Pakidái

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-
hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the
interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular inter-
vals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller
posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear
posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two
[824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves
for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centi-
meters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a
windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut
described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large wind-
screens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about
seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters.
[824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are
[171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-
fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves
as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five
years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá
area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are
80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters
[461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four
to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and
at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has
gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in
the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance
he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either
side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with
lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one
another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the
Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the inter-
spaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite
side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text continues on p. 28]

Surára
Pakidái

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● 361
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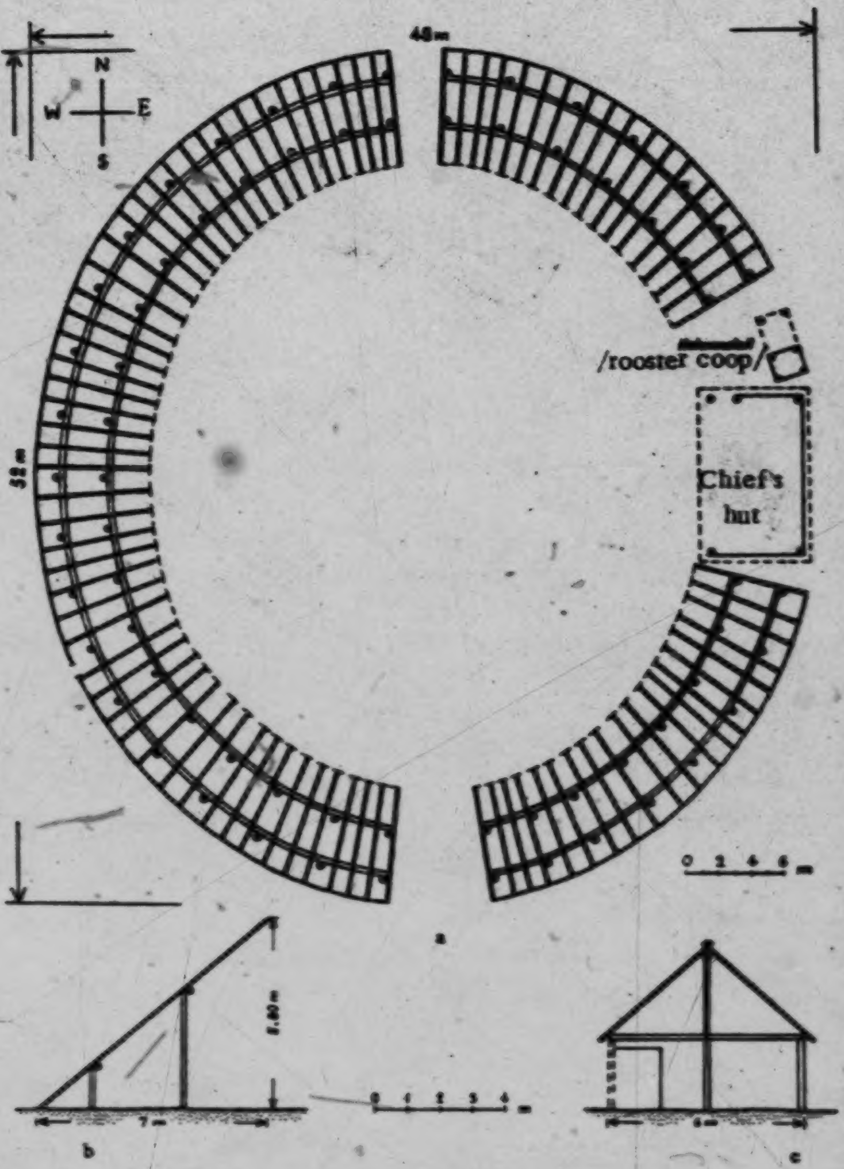
48 m
N
W
E
S
32 m
/rooster coop/
Chief's hut
0 2 4 6 m
a
7 m
b
0 1 2 3 4 m
6 m
c

Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

Surára
Pakidai

/15/

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As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá I became acquainted with a closed, circular maloka ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xiriâna. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

361
313
The construction, as in the case of the open maloka, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the maloka is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the terçados (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men,
342
marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

Surára
Pakidai

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarí --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, cará, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since [134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

241 361 166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka 245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 ● 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

Surára
Pakidái

/3/

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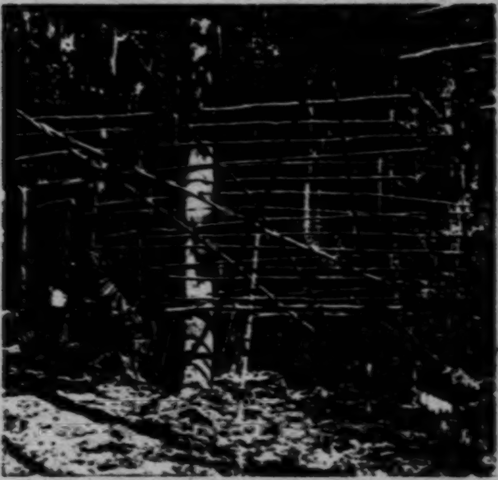

Ill. 4. Construction of family overnight quarters during migrations of the tribe

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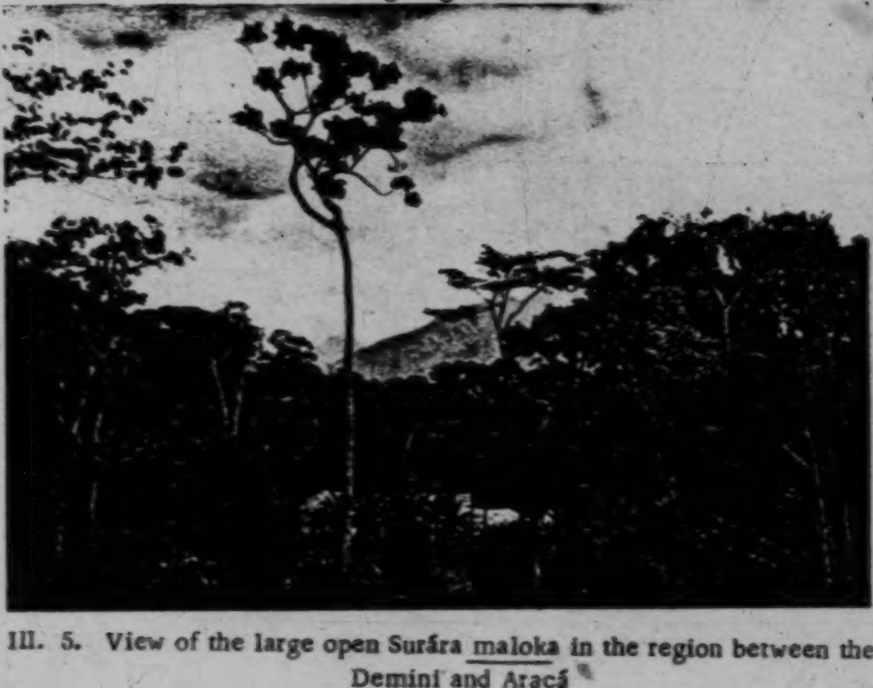

Ill. 5. View of the large open Surára maloka in the region between the Demini and Aracá

Surára
Pakidái

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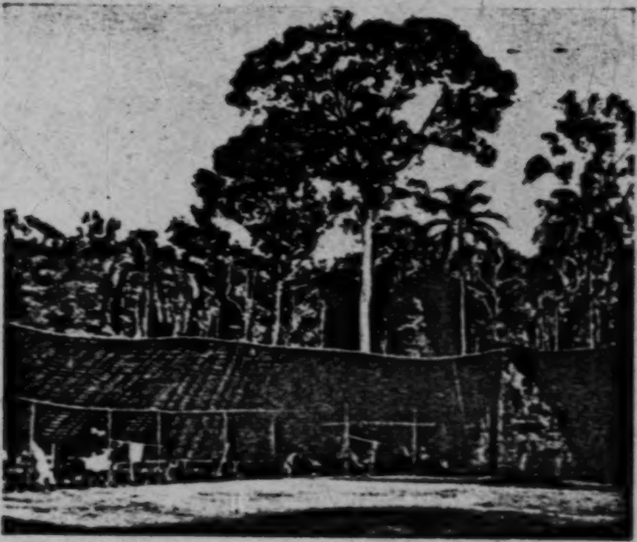
● 361



Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára *maloka*

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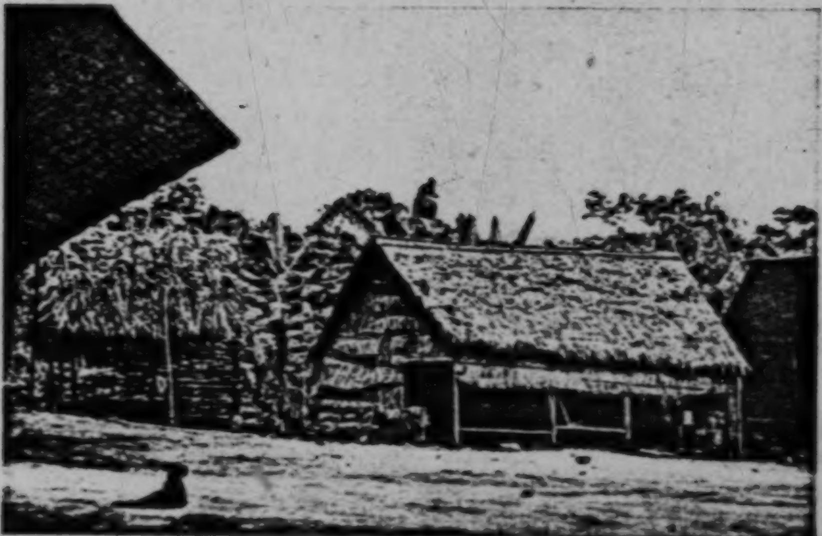

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára *maloka*

Surára

/5/

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Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

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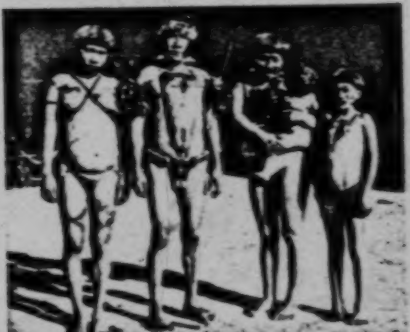
Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

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854
622
←

142
301
302
→

Ill. 11. Kurikayawö, the younger brother of the Surára chief

Guahibo SC14
Sanema
Yabarana SS22
Saliva SS15
Makiritare SS20
Panare SS21

M /13 cont./
101 searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much
for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan
Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land
(Pemón, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Yupa), and the Makiritare,
P & river men, represent an exception among them.

Y/Ya According to the relative importance which the river has
M among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the
●361 principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a
distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among
the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance
is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The
Y/Ya farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to
[128] make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even
less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are
P presenting in the present report the first relatively ample informa-
Y tion on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

114 /15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were
very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard
physically.

Y/ In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with
122 those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignifi-
cant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can
P go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de
122 Manapiare, and Cucurí (between the Tenqua and Oso Falls). Thus,
for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara
S on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive
122 on the same day at the first bohio of the Panare. In order to
Ya study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho
122 and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited
in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and
from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes
Y in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on
M the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most
122 autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare terri-
tory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane
to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacurí
on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[text continues on p. 6]

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS20
Pemon SS16

/182 cont./

Y 101 [127] With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glottochronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

> 18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y 648 P M 648 361 From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y M 648 ● 361 The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuãiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

Avake SS5

Y 114 797 162 /186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

Y 162 167 114 /187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Y [361] Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. A [167] [648] The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Y 101 Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

Y 491 241 According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 269 The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 481 491 Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." 361 241 484 439 411 They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." 142 146 They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

114 101 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

4: Wilbert
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SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Makiritare SS20

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

4: Wilbert--40 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Sanama

Makiritare SS20

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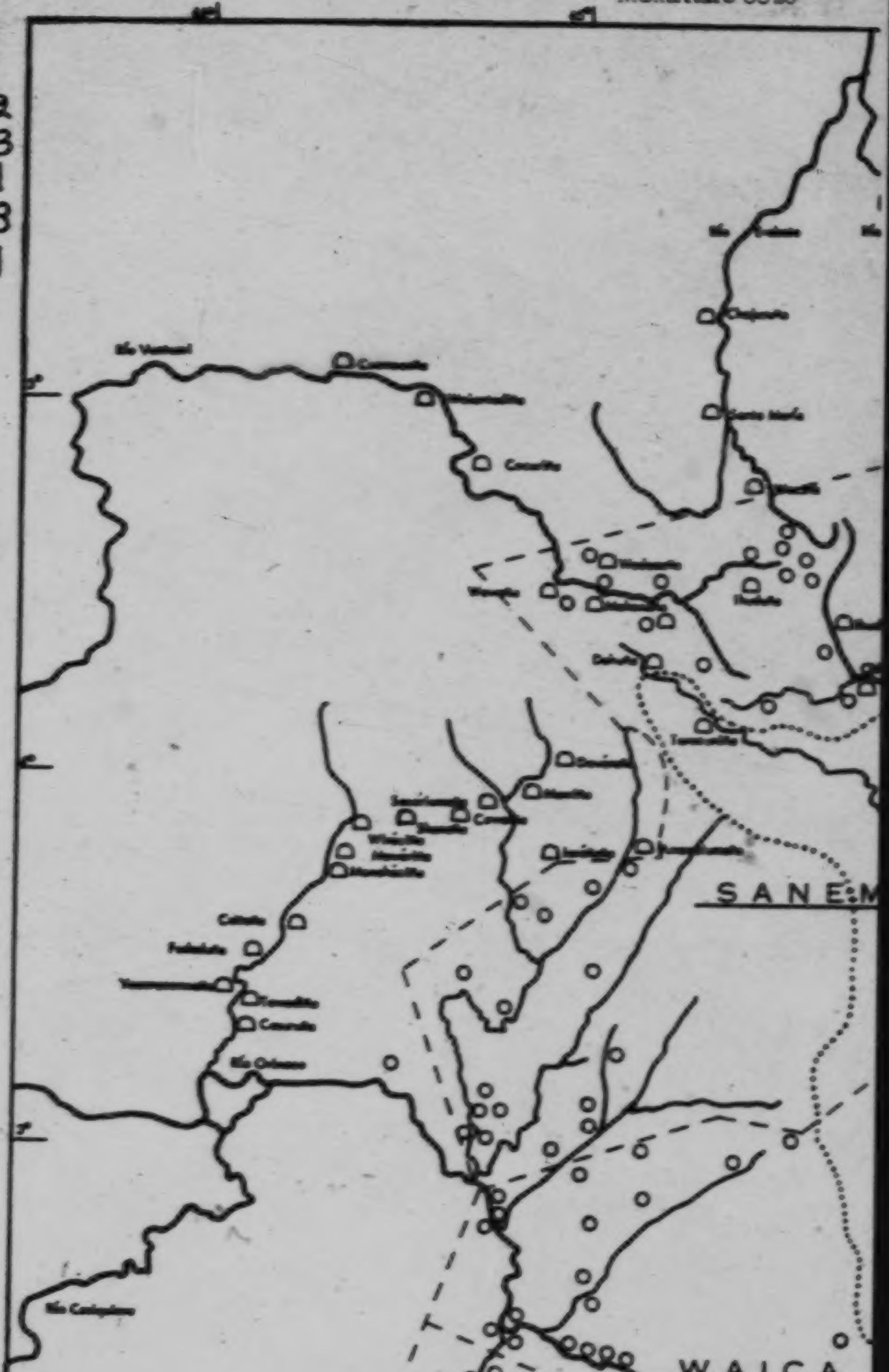
SANE:M
WAICA

4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makiritare SS20 Sanema

M
Y
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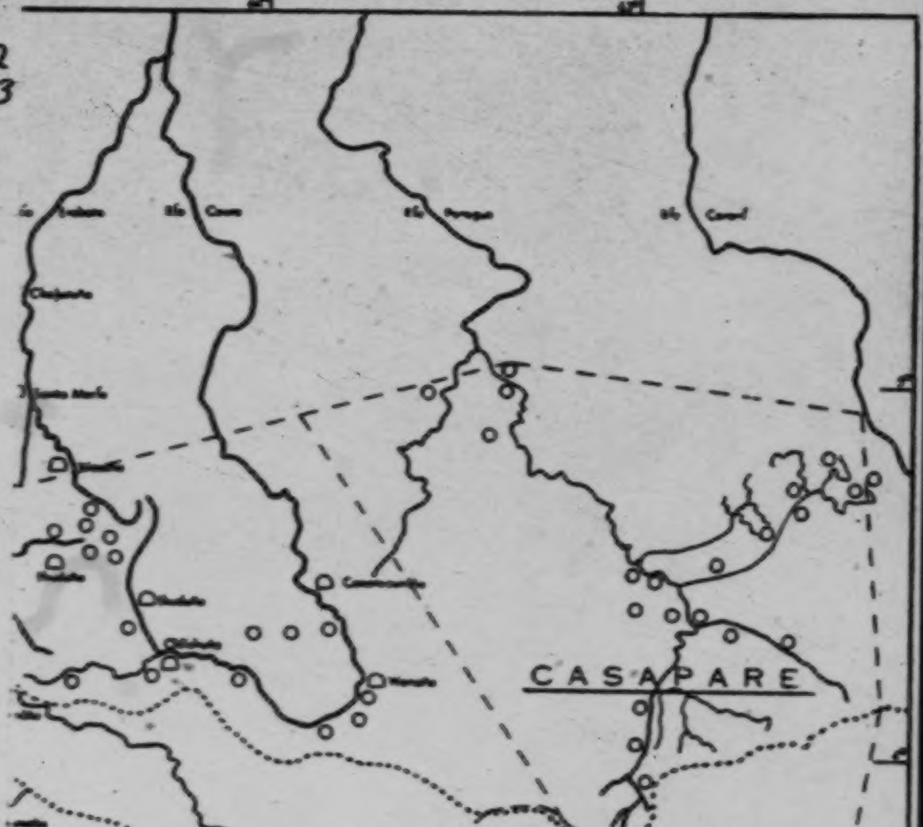
●361


CASAPARE
SANEMA
AICA
?

4: Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makiritare SS 2●

Sanema

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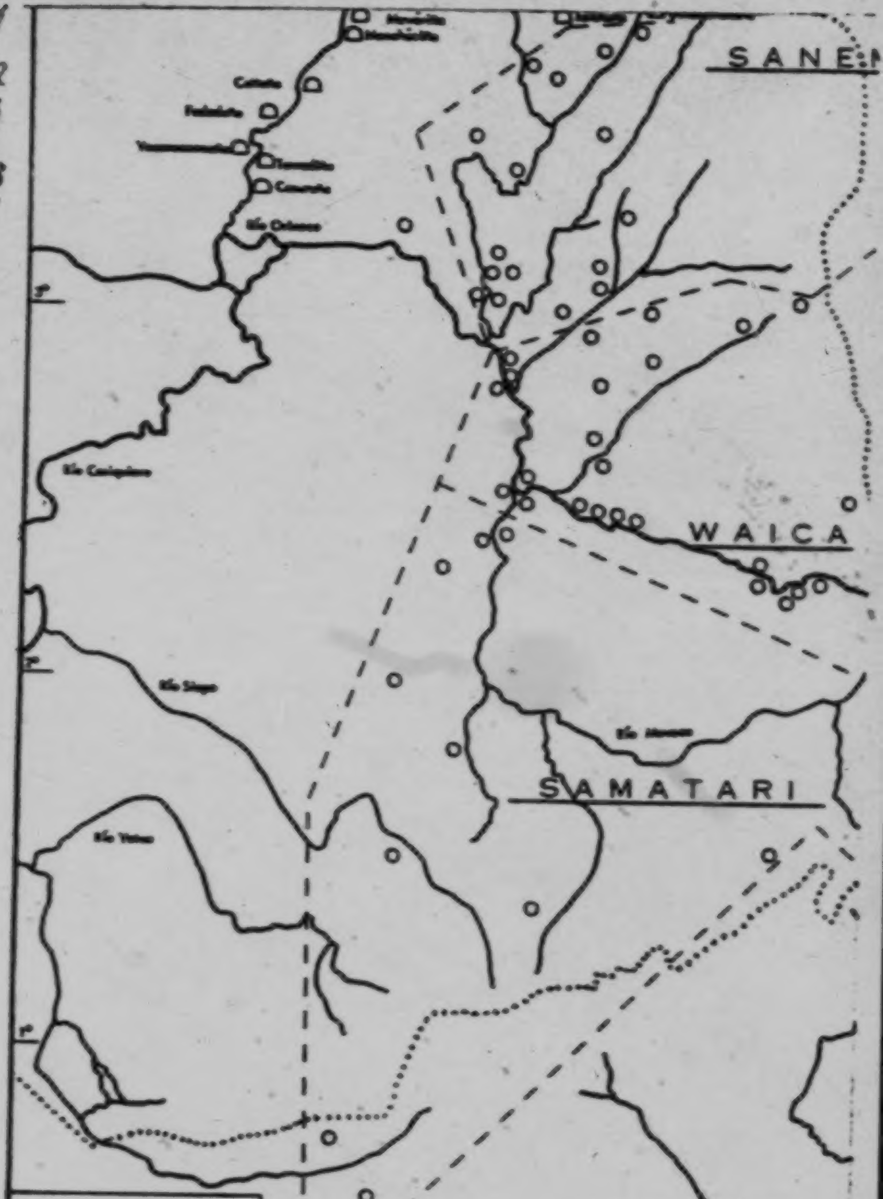
SANE
WAICA
SAMATARI
YANOAMA – O
MAKIRITARE – D

Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43   E-4, 5   (1958) 1963   SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Sanema
Makiritare SS20

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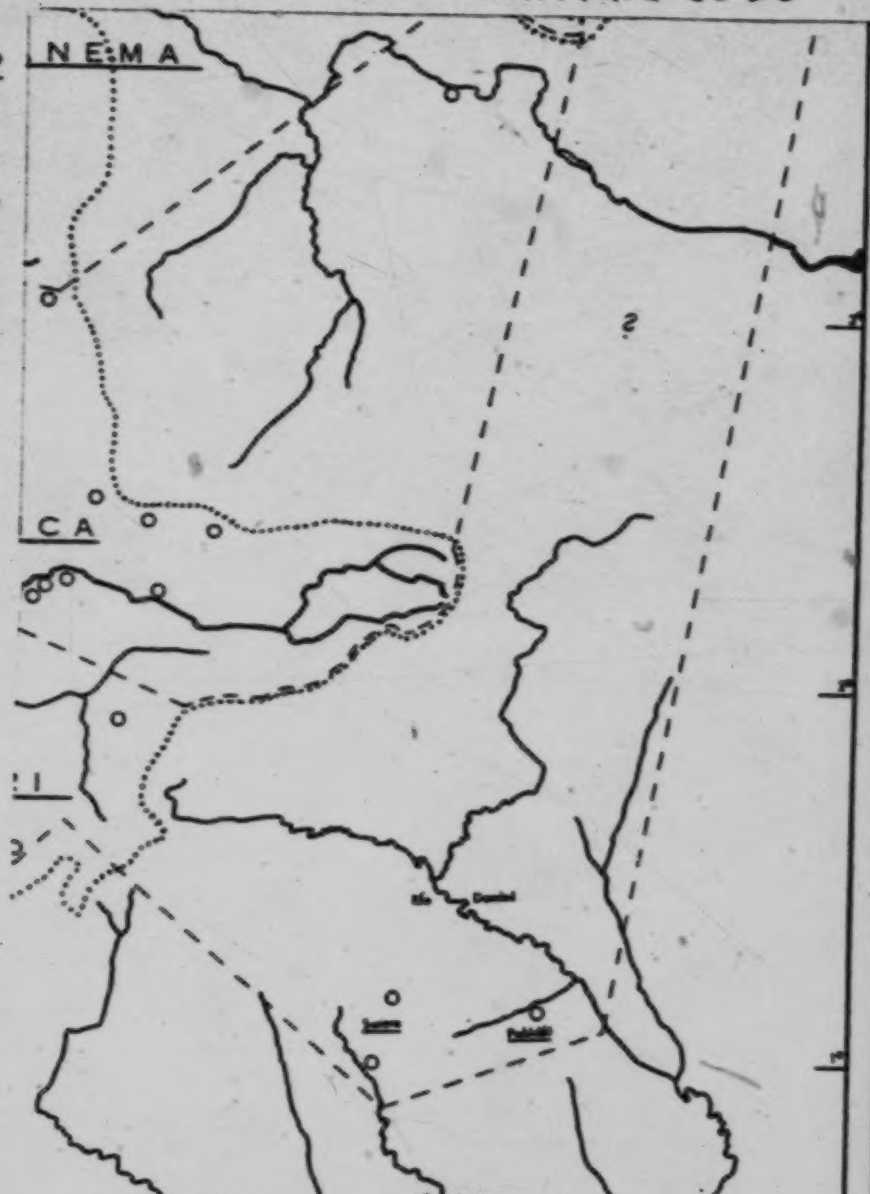

/200 cont. /

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña frequently move between the Ventuari and the Erebato.
2. Wadekuña	80	
3. Mahanaña	50	
4. Ihuduña	200	
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

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[501]
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[262]

On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

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133 one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.' *

123 We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

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[167] The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merchuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canama, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

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361 Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merchuari cordillera as far as the

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and 563
a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few 177
palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old 361
are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their
whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away.
The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built
according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shirians when
they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride 123*
that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shirians fled away into the woods,
much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering
their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched
out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see
us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with [164]
càrate—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight [231]
of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord
which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others,
and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid
he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the
filth around us, but we had misjudged our man: Manuera was now engaged in
more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent
survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were
able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shirians had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party [203]
we had met at the *Moné* pass—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera
that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabara.
It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had
been caused by the sight of us, as the Shirians thought. Manuera's gestures
became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their
attitude.

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with 159
hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Meaasi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his
kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be [622]
a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. 159
What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana 177
rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose
woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the
barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his 159
experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the 177
ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw 185
round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it 244
all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugarcane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They in- [101]
habited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little [361]
above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed 159
cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

*

423 to Las Trinqueras he would buy him red cloth, flowered dresses for his womenfolk, and that supreme Indian luxury, powder and shot for the gun, and so on.

Pancho listened with a smile, every now and then giving a little scornful laugh, which might have meant rich contentment or just plain scepticism. He winked at us—mere neutral observers—with his horribly burst eye.

Two days later a crew was ready. Pancho himself was not going, but our three travellers were to leave in two big canoes. In twenty days they would reach Las Trinqueras and from that point the rubber planters' launch would take them on to Ciudad Bolivar. We gave them a letter for the pilots of the air charter company with whom we had an agreement. They had failed us badly. We had made it clear to the plane when it had paid us its last visit, by putting a big notice on the strip, that we had one passenger to be taken off. Jean couldn't face the thought of the journey back by water. But they had not come for her, so she stayed with us. We told them that we would be expecting a plane on the Kirisochi field on either the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth of April.

After the three had gone, a vast silence seemed to settle on the forest, touching us as well. It was sad to have said good-bye to friends like Momi and Giovanni, but by way of compensation we now had a much better balanced party. I felt free, gloriously free. The field was mine now. I could push ahead with our work to the limit, with no ethical question marks bothering me, and no remorse.

We went off with the Shirians to pay a visit to Pulipuli and to look up a [487] valuable fellow named Cesare. The Valley of the Moon can also be entered by way of the Canaracuni, along another valley which runs down from the same [362] heights and is linked with the Canaracuni by a maze of paths. On every side there are Shirian huts, tiny dilapidated affairs, each in a little clearing threatened by [361] the advance of the forest.

Cesare was not at home. In his stead we found a crowd of old acquaintances, one of them being an old Indian of great dignity whom we had nicknamed 'The Senator'. He had come to Kirisochi on our arrival there, he had been present while we were building our hut, and never had he done a hand's turn. He would watch others at work with a fine air of detachment which was really (413) remarkable. He was truly sufficient unto himself. Most of the time he spent stretched out in a hammock—a very small one made of liana—with his feet higher than his head. Periodically he scratched his back with a stick prepared and reserved for just that purpose. One of those ivory back-scratchers with a

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island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. 101
If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the 101
Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the [614]
Uana-Dildep, the Haruao, the Oakadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent [361]
interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes [186]
is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco; though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacuni, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco-Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any cer- 161
tainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present 123*
during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know'—the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a 123 *
hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to 754
fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died,
sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went 123 *
along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated 222
visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, 487
led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the 484
day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Aracosa!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of 123 *
youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and 484
watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they [251]
pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their
shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on [854]
their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the after- [361] ●
noon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, [712]
bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

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484 open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black
712 spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a
● 361 defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Samatari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find 'bread for his teeth'—that is, thorns for his feet.

[513] At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

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In the course of our march, one Samatari not only devoured the larvae of
484 bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but
[262] every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with ant-galleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare *bonne bouche*. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

*
123 Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly
484 appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Samatari
261 bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat sand, the dirty, soft, vari-coloured sand which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Samatari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

*
123 Our great salvation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages,
262 they were unwilling to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for our-
484 selves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Samatari too, fruit is the main

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The day after our Makiritari crew had gone we betook ourselves and all our bags and baggage into a Shirian settlement. They were friendly people, somewhat scared of us, and attentive to our every move. All in all, we weren't
M
[123] sorry to have missed Frenario, who would undoubtedly have turned out to be some mangy and pretentious imbecile, lording it over everybody like some Asiatic despot. In talking about it to my companion, I summed up my attitude thus: 'If you're going among the Makiritari, take Makiritari with you. If you're going among Shirians, take Shirians.'

The itinerary we wanted to cover wasn't perfectly clear, even to ourselves: after all, our journey was taking us through one of the least explored parts of the world. But it was certain, at any rate, that we should be crossing territory inhabited by Shirians (especially Samatari and Guayca). It was even more certain that we should meet with no Makiritari or other people full of sweetness and light.

Y
[361] That same evening we picked out the men we wanted to take with us—though it would be more correct to say that we had them wished on us, because in this settlement, which lay hidden on the left bank of the Yevarehuri,
Y
[511] five or six bends down, there weren't a great many Indians fit for the job. These were peaceable Shirians, but their living conditions were some of the most
[178] wretched we'd ever seen. It was really as if by the very fact of having given up their warlike habits, these people had forfeited their right to live as well as possible. From warriors, these people had gone to the extreme and become anchorites.

One man didn't want to come without bringing his wife and child—and the medicine-man!—along too. What was more, as crew-leader we had a man of middle age who was morally head of the little clan, and something more. His wife, with a baby boy at her breast, would also be coming. Then there were two boys, one of fifteen or so, the other of more tender years. Altogether it was the queerest crew two explorers of unknown territories could ever have put their faith in.

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177 To gain time, we wanted to set out straight away, but our people gave us to understand that we must wait a day because they had something important to do. In the meantime, while ostensibly preparing the loads, they were anxious to have a good look at the equipment we were carrying. We let them get on with it, until they came to the pack containing the good old red cloth and other objects which might have been too much of a temptation for them: at this

* 123 This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfiss' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131] [101] Dolfiss belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfiss there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

● [361] [501] [342] [162] [165] The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherias. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these tribes on several occasions. [114] The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherias where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucunuma River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

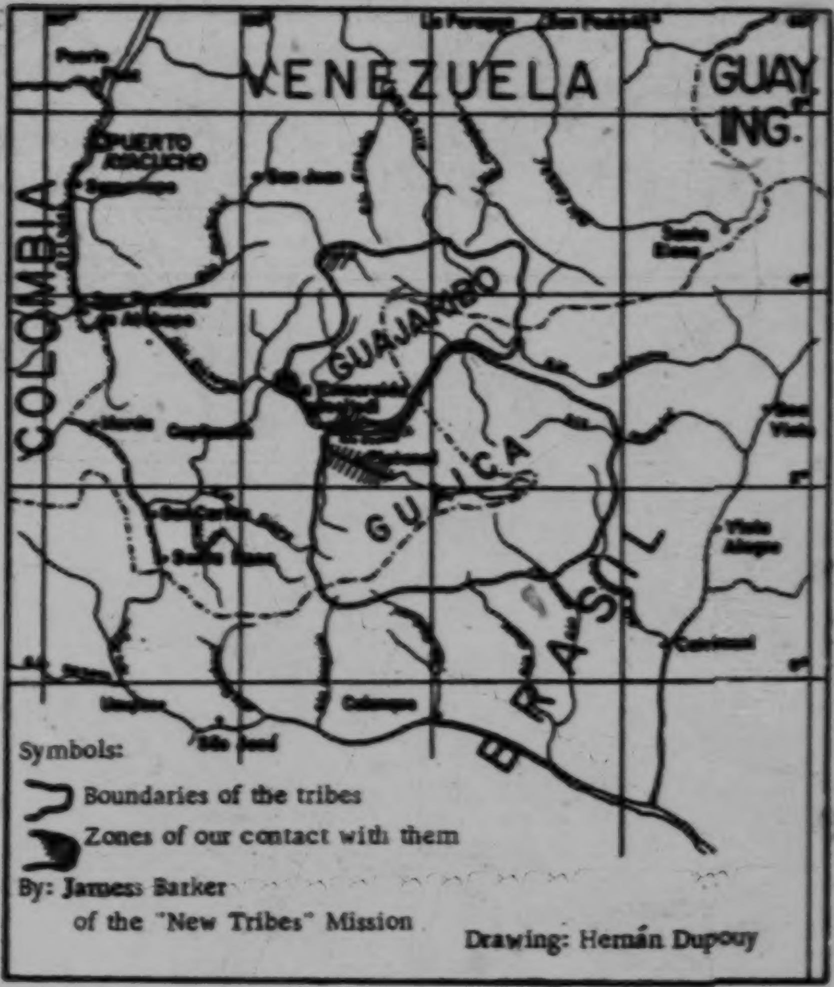
I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Waduhaoa-mak.

Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

102
101
131
133
114
● 361


VENEZUELA
GUAY. ING.
COLOMBIA
PUERTO AYACUCHO
GUAJARIBO
GUAICA
BRASIL
Symbols:
Boundaries of the tribes
Zones of our contact with them
By: Jamess Barker
of the "New Tribes" Mission
Drawing: Hernán Dupouy

7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo

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103
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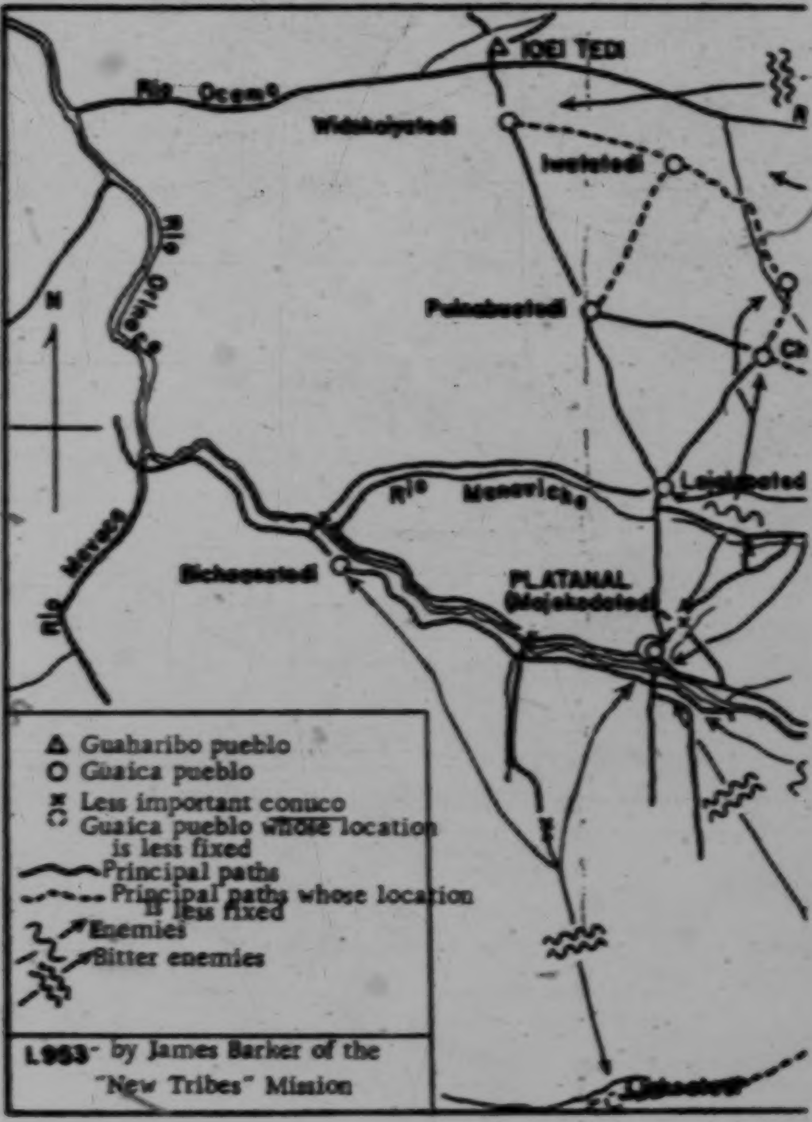
● 361
6R3


IOEI TEDI
Rio Ocamo
Widikoiyoteđi
Iweleteđi
Puinabueteđi
Rio Orinoco
N
Rio Manaviche
Leiqueteđi
Rio Mavaca
Bicheeteđi
PLATANAL
(Mojokodoteđi)
△ Guaharibo pueblo
○ Guaica pueblo
✕ Less important conuco
◌ Guaica pueblo ~~whose~~ location is less fixed
Principal paths
Principal paths whose location is less fixed
Enemies
Bitter enemies

1953- by James Barker of the "New Tribes" Mission

7: Barker--8 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo

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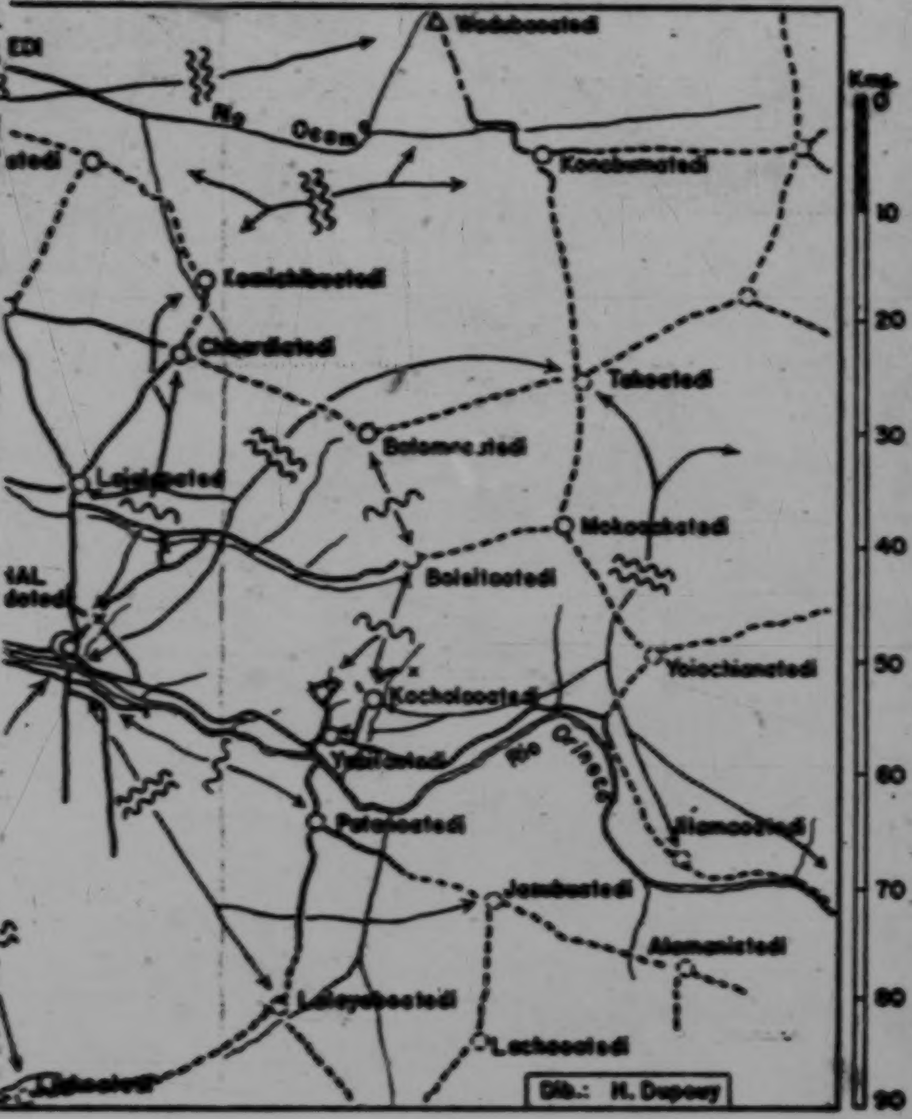
133
● 361
628


Wadaboateli
Rio Ocam
Konabumateli
Kamichibooteli
Chibardiateli
Takoateli
Bolamrc.stedi
Lajabateli
Mokoachateli
Boleltaoteli
Yoiochiancteli
Kocholooteli
Yabiteli
Rio Orinoco
Patanoateli
Jambuateli
Alamoateli
Alemanisteli
Lalayabooteli
Lachooateli
Lijabotedi
Dib.: H. Dupouy
Kms.
0
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30
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80
90

/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

● 361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

103
162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal)	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103
162
[114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

162 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/459/

352 [354] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 ● [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

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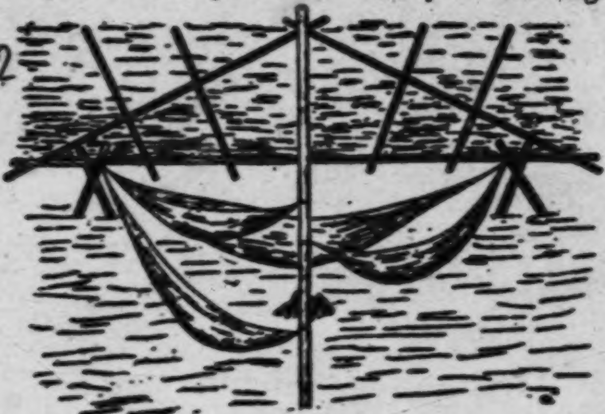

/Fig. 5/

351

356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patio Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

/460/ Hygienic Measures

514 Toilets for the elimination of excrement are absent. They consider the edge of the patio sufficiently far away for urination. To defecate they go into the forest at some distance from the settlement and away from the paths. An old fallen tree trunk is the preferred site for squatting down, and dry sticks take the place of toilet paper.

No one is capable of intentionally touching dung with the hand or foot. It is considered very dirty, and if one did touch it, his hand or foot must be cleaned and washed immediately.

The dung of dogs and of infants is removed from the patio by pushing it onto leaves with a stick and then throwing these leaves some distance into the forest.

For their nocturnal movements, they put a few leaves on the ground, with which they then make a package; on the following morning they throw them away at some distance from the settlement.

[136] In El Platanal there is a green beetle which buries hard dung. Half an hour after a movement all evidence disappears.

Sites

● 361 The center of the area in which the Guaika /Waica/ live is the "conuco." In the forest which surrounds the conuco are located their temporary or semipermanent settlements, this depending on the type of terrain, whether it is sandy or clayey.

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361
[136] Very simple temporary dwellings are used in areas where the fleas or "niguas" are a problem. This type of house consists of a framework of beams for a roof, with leaves placed on top and held down. These same leaves can easily be taken to the site of a new settlement when the Indians move to another, uninfested area.

A more semipermanent type of construction is preferred where the "niguas" do not present a problem and make it impossible to return to the same site. These houses are of /461/ similar construction, but are larger and more durable, and the leaves of the roof are fixed in place. This type of dwelling or shelter takes about five times longer to build in comparison with the temporary type of dwelling.

/461 cont./

361 166 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the settlement near the "*conuco*," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "*conuco*."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

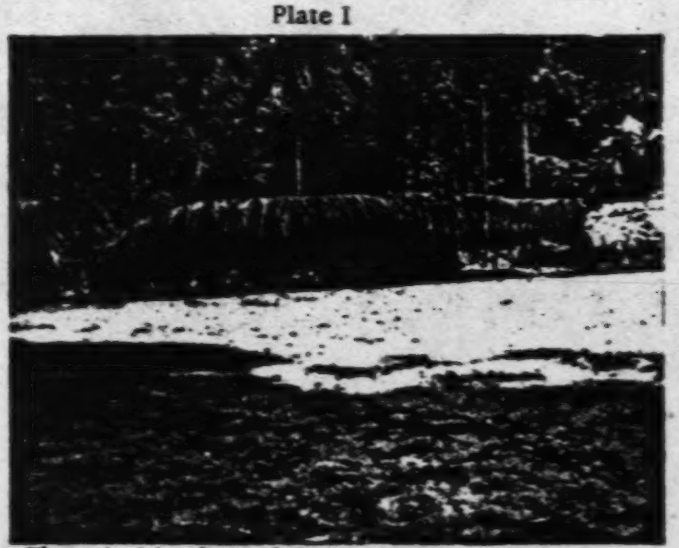
342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "*conuco*," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano,

241 361 The Guaika are continually preparing new "*conucos*." After a new "*conuco*" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "*conucos*" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "*conuco*" are producing. Then, as the old "*conuco*" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "*pijiguao*" palm, they spend some time near the "*conucos*" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "*pijiguao*" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "*conucos*" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

Plate I

342
361



The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

616
854

Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

722 /152 cont./ One day, that is to say after the *aldea* was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them
near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the
enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /*sic*/: "Jaiyeota," one
of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy
of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from
Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All
of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy
and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after
this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti
shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard
that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but
none of the other inhabitants of the *aldea* came to the "*lloro*"
/weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two *aldeas* had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and
night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two *aldeas* of
Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until
those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /*granja*/ down the
Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they
separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a
point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and
both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of
a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One
family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent
visits prevented the two *aldeas* from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back
with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed
arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was
seriously wounded, but recovered.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the
Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river.
Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow,
but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They
explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the
Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them.
[302] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid.
[574] (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.)
[822] When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them
where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and
[412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth.
After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people
● [361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were
near their main farm.

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-
tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time
since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the
alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[411] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece
of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the
/157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some
came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been
seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/164 cont./

727 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
● 361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

SQ18

Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James 797
Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. 123
He told me that he and a companion now up at the village
had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months.
He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they
had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their
language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about 123
it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; [122]
even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from
unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and
marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy
the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently
made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip
away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their
vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path
probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

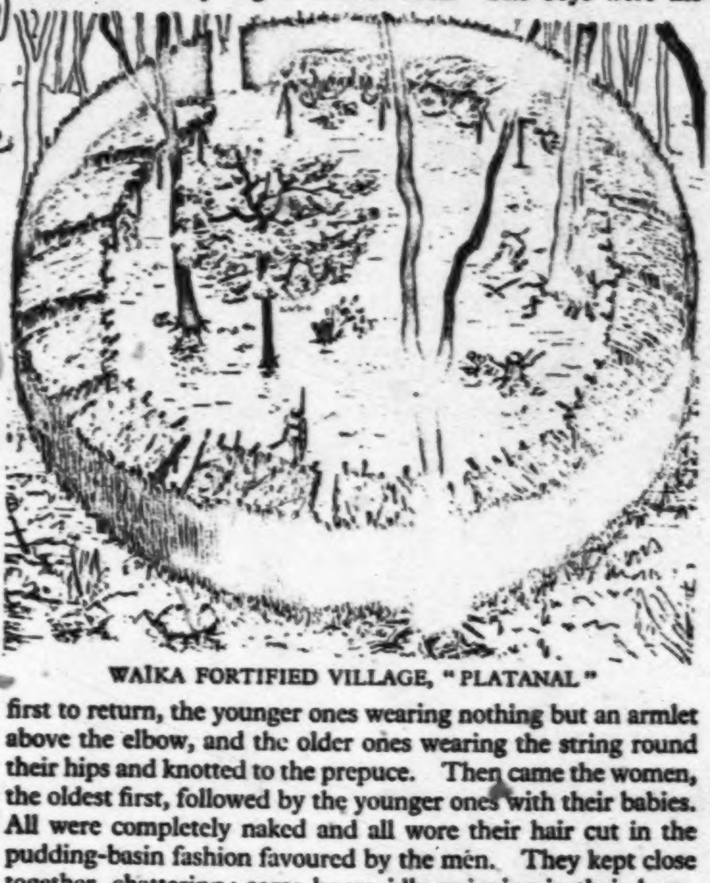
After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a [417]
clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but
we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another
similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As
we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of
an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded
in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just
seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he
had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed
to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was
omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, 361 ●
huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a 123
circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner [342]
of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod
supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by
lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves.
The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single
entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

SQ 18
Waica

361 entered. It was deserted; the women and children had doubt-
123 less fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the
[609] forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men
had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own.
123 After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the
[291]

361
342



WAIKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

123 first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet
[291] above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round
their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women,
the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies.
[302] All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the
pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close
together, chattering; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the
men followed close on our steps.

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place 361
on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for 485
more than a week. And so we found on our various return
visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers
varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how
frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said
he had been to only one other during his seven months'
stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and 415
baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw [531]
or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops [237]
of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the [353]
hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara
teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them 412
dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing 237
embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number 372
of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not
discover what they were used to carry—probably household 482
utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no 292
Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with [534]
no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging
from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that
I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of 353
unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from [354]
many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like [252]
a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair
and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator 252
which had been grilled on the embers. [415]

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave [262]
them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of
tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their 263
lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As 276
with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every [123]
morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before
passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any 501
sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the con

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

*621 *628 618 The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the
local lineages of a village on the one hand and between
*602 628 allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties
are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually
takes place between villages comprised of closely related
*621 622 kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and head-
578 men can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own
*621 villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly
*578 [628] threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors
likewise weaken political relationships between allied
villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out
[411] over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter
[241] case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and
[361] usually the result is that the village splits; one of the
factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an in-
361 dependent village. As the histories of selected villages
*621 will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of
Yąnomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting
of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter
groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting
*621 and growth _ad infinitum_. Kinship as a medium for promoting
602 solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

---

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

*621 cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are
593 brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number
.152 602 of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly
brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of
rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data,
the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their
husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women
have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise
restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the
brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is
[586] not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel
[679] husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably
leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to
split.

181 Ideological considerations, therefore, promote
152 *621 friction and fighting within villages and lead to village
*628 splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek
583 582 marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

.361 241 Local groups abandon residential and horticultural
722 sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of
their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to
predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their
gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war
is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance
*621 from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop
598 241 within the village and it is expected that these will

*621 578 241 escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

*621 *629 241 •36 722 Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to [583] [582] [839] live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives *628 726 574 in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

*628
726 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the
574 hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and
required the aid of their guests.

*628 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, pro-
241 motes political alliances with other villages; the warfare
722
361 pattern is such that the members of a village may have to
flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If
they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need
the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

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121 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices
583 are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in com-
582 plex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how
these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices.
At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social
practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with
the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within
which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit.
A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be
demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I
shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual
marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[726] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a
[182] significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

823 direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of
128 mountains. At a few points the Shukumöna-u may be reached
from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

128 Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extend-
131 ing nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the
133 Indians claim the Shukumöna-u does, and lying between the
Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from
128 Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map
133 published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for
129 the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the
[126] Shukumöna-u of the Yąnomamö. I have used more recent maps,
[114] also obtained from the same office, for the course of the
Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I
obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this
river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I un-
successfully attempted to contact in September of 1965.
Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

126 In reconstructing the history of the village move-
174 ments, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have
361 relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the
133 Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided
me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimöwi-bora in Yąnomamö) and
Raudal Guaharibo (Karäbä-bora in Yąnomamö) near the present
village of Kashorawä-tedi.

126 I employed three sources of information to locate
361 present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages
[115] I personally visited. Second, information from James P.
[797]

126 361 D16 (799) Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mõmaribõwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [802] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakäbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

101 [114] Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

101 361 [103] [551] [551] The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawä ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called Shįhowä-tedi. Kayabawä was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, *Shamatari*, derived from their word (*Shama*) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout [103] tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shįhowä-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yąnomamö as the *Shukumöna-u* (see above), where his village became known as Mokayäaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shįowä-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Havaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. 101 [174] The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

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[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yąnomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

161 162 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because *621 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

*361 *628 722 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 342 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

351| large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [137] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general terrain. 361| [133] [484] Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is done on foot. [179] Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages, [221] [489] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

241| The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

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241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two
varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey.
Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits
(pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö.
[222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this
crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned
gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant
crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados,
peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow
cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants
[433] used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices
[589] and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more
[722] than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may
361 have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared
to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the
distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it
is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than
the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that
moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely
from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old
[262] garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread,
and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these
crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

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*[598] [1] The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in
refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their
gardens accordingly.

000(lapa, Spanish).

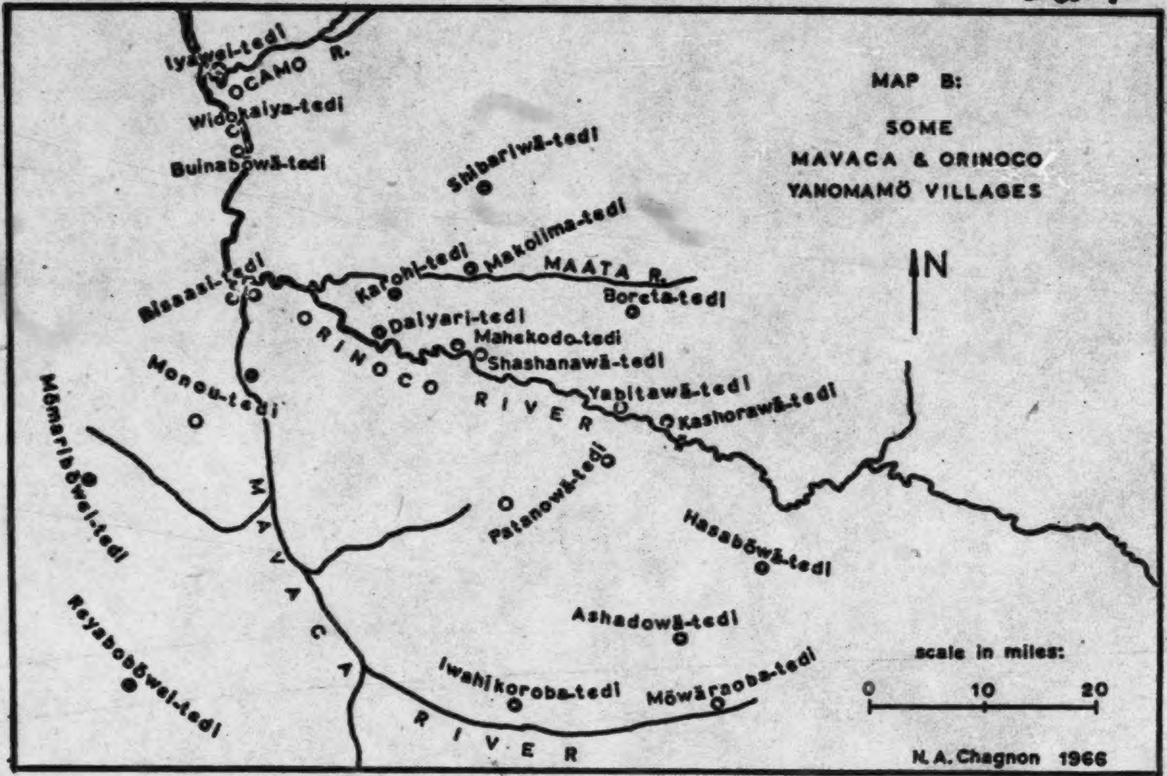
222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 262 [146] [177] Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%, although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere [252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 [422] Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village. [422] [574] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they [361] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

722 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch
361 food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the
women and children are concealed in these temporary sites
221 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and
361 574 feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the
722 men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding
in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to partic-
ipate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather
unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism,
by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to
emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or
over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function
of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as
is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422
484 All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow,
[411] arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire
[415] drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the
[372] agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine
[237] hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner
[352] on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to
[123] accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they
always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It
always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I
always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having
484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary,
could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision
to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few



MAP B:
SOME
MAVACA & ORINOCO
YANOMAMÖ VILLAGES

Iyawei-tedi
OCAMO R.
Widokaiya-tedi
Buinaböwä-tedi
Shibariwä-tedi
Makolima-tedi
MAATA R.
Karohi-tedi
Bisaasi-tedi
Boreta-tedi
Dalyari-tedi
Mahekodo-tedi
Shashanawä-tedi
ORINOCO RIVER
Monou-tedi
Yabitawä-tedi
Kashorawä-tedi
Mömariböwei-tedi
Patanowä-tedi
MAVACA RIVER
Hasaböwä-tedi
Ashadowä-tedi
Reyaboböwei-tedi
Iwahikoroba-tedi
Möwäraoba-tedi
N
scale in miles:
0
10
20
N. A. Chagnon 1966

125
849 of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among
162
*628 them.
562

*628 In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari vil-
529 lages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mɵmariböwei-tedi, participated in
584 a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of
726
361 their kinsmen from Möwäraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mɵmariböwei-tedi and the Reyaboböwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Möwäraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in
*628 revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two
583 dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi.
162
562 Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-
*621

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[1] See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawä-tedi."

*621
562 avoid the raids from the Patanowä-tedi, the man in question
162 used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwä's
837 wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the
578 village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite
his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwä. The
164 entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwä
384 punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing
fire brand, severely burning her lips.

162 Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is
562 remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This,
721
*628 however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this
583 occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of
political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each
other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for
this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully
527 by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the
574 Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a
*628
72 feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as
• 361 groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms
in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but
a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed
part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited
and abducted seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. This ultimately
provoked a war between the Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi,
and determined the settlement pattern of both groups,
as well as their political activities, all during my field
726 work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I
114

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

*621
B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

628 When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved
837
578 peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's
721 lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the
[241] establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The
timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village
726
722 warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an
241 extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare
• 361 necessitates the formation of political alliances with other
groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

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[241] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as
certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-
[361] burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory.
[171] In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also
[128] Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation).
For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

*628 these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars
726 develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredict-
722 able intensity before new gardens can be established, and
241 361 the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

726 To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of
241
361 subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-täka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shɨhota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden
[114] at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting
[521] parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occasions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

*628 Other factors besides density of jungle, type of
361
241 floral association, and general topography are considered by

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[837] [583] [1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

*628 the Yąnomamö when they make new gardens. The relative
361 location of friendly and hostile villages with respect to the
241 new site is very important. The Monou-tedi moved west in
1965, clearing their new site in the direction away from
their major enemies, the Patanowä-tedi. Their allies, the
Mǫmariböwei-tedi and the Reyaboböwei-tedi, lived to their
west. Furthermore, their old enemies, the Möwäraoba-tedi and
Iwahikoroba-tedi, lived to their southeast, a direction the
Monou-tedi wished to avoid. Finally, by moving to the west,
the Monou-tedi crossed a large river (Mavaca), a natural
barrier that would interfere with the retreat of raiding
parties that initiated in the east.

361 Another factor influences the choice of site when the
241 members of a village must abandon their existing garden: the
245 location of a previously cultivated site. Old gardens are
desirable sites because they continue to produce peach palm
long after they are deserted. As the fruit of this palm
seasonally provides an important and desirable addition to
the diet of the Yąnomamö, they prefer to move into an old
garden rather than start a new peach palm grove from seedlings.
The Yąnomamö frequently return to their old, abandoned sites
361 in order to harvest the peach palm crop. This is usually a
241
245 dangerous undertaking, as their old enemies are also aware of
114 the fruit, and exploit it themselves. In February 1965 I
*628 accompanied a group of Bisaasi-tedi men to Barawä-täka,[1]

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[1] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

361
241 abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that
245 garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we
114
*628 run into a group of Patanowä-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the Patanowä-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

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*628 During 1965 raids were so intense on the Patanowä-tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at Patanowä-täka. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the Patanowä-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shɨhota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the Patanowä-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the Patanowä-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

722 illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and
*361 241 how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate
*628 village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the Patanowä-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the Patanowä-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area—closer to their allies and across a large river—an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

*578 *621 The graded violence pattern[1] of the Yąnomamö may be
241 viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates
182 the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus,
152 grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the Yąnomamö: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

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[1] The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 *621 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
241 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
182 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
152 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of
considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
*621 *628 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
241 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
*361 722 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
182 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
152 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facilitate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowä-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

726 sides by villages that were actively raiding them. Fortunately,
*628 however, they had one ally, the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group
(ca. 200-250 people) living two days' walk to their south.
[722] The Ashadowä-tedi allied themselves to the Patanowä-tedi because
of their own interest in raiding the Hasaböwä-tedi, from whom
they themselves separated on hostile terms in the recent past.
Furthermore, the Ashadowä-tedi had penetrated Shamatari ter-
ritory, and needed allies in the event that the Shamatari
villages began hostilities against them.

721 The abduction of the seven Patanowä-tedi women by
726 the Monou-tedi precipitated a war of such intensity that the
*361 Patanowä-tedi were immediately obliged to abandon their site.
*628 Under 'normal' circumstances, the Patanowä-tedi would have
been able to resist a small group like the Monou-tedi, but
their other war against the Hasaböwä-tedi detracted from their
capacity to do so. When the Monou-tedi initiated raiding
against the Patanowä-tedi, the allies of all the villages
hostile to the Patanowä-tedi jumped, so to speak, on the
726 'band-wagon.' These allies were supporting Patanowä-tedi's
*628 enemies only half-heartedly up to the entry of the Monou-tedi
into the war, for prior to this, the Patanowä-tedi were able
to threaten these villages. When, however, the Monou-tedi and
their allies (the Bisaasi-tedi, the Mömariböwei-tedi, and the
Reyaboböwei-tedi) began raiding the Patanowä-tedi, it became
immediately apparent that the offensive potential of the
Patanowä-tedi was greatly reduced. Thus, villages at some
distance from the Patanowä-tedi began to raid the latter,

726 *628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the 726 722 *628 ● 361 241 danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

Summary

162 562 [847] [83] The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yąnomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times
[602] when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-
• [361] tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-
[613] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the
dominant political group of that village being a segment of
the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite in-
dependently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's
political interests are in the Mömaribõwei-tedi at the present
time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the
*628 Reyabobõwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the
726 war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper
Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the
raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when
raiding is particularly intense.

*621 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated,
162 stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness de-
562 rives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and
571 there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members
*628 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily
722 viable group. It could not last long as an independent vil-
lage if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not
completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At
least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group
coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-
tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi
began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi
for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

000 has several enemies.

*621 I pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a
*628 701 militarily viable village, although its total population
721 falls within the range of such villages. An examination of
722 the village composition given in Appendix A will show that
[162] there are only 12 men between the ages of 14 and 50, and not
all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of
these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against
enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would
have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi
depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and
could not survive as an independent village. Should their
enemies (the Patanowä-tedi) begin raiding them frequently,
they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper
Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this
whenever raids from the Patanowä-tedi threatened them. The
[162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 14 and 50, but
two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more
capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower
Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size
of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is
that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting
*621 raids. However, their size has not permitted them to ef-
*628 782 fectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the
[361] Patanowä-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new
site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

*621 aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-
722 *628 tedi probably could not survive as an independent village
because of the size differential between themselves and their
*621 enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are
722 *361 more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved
*628 to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their
agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

*621
578 Village splitting develops out of feuding over women;
562 the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the
602 583 strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other
by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

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[114] I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history
of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowä-tedi,
Mömariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, including those move-
ments during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through
[175] February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data
[126] I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the
village histories from about 1875 to the present.

*628 The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived
*621 together at one time and the present residents of these vil-
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175 lages are closely related. The last site they occupied as
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128 one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity
I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to
that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the
five mentioned above have a common history, being called
Paruritawä-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

*621
*628 I wish to make several points in the discussion that
121 follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only
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● 361 when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that
602 villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into
factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-
established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities
with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

*722
*621

*628 historical relationships between villages to properly inter- 121 *361 pret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last 602 *628 point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi 174 claimed to be from Patanowä-tedi; my initial conclusions con- 582 cerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was 583 that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were 174 living together. I therefore investigated in detail the 128 historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

128 I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 361 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only 128 Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I can- 361 174 not illustrate Yąnomamö political behavior without recourse *628 to details of the village movements and the wars that caused 583 them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mömariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

[Namowei-tedi Group]

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Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarised.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawä-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokọoiwä-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shịhowä- and Husirawä-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowä	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shịhota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowä-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawä	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawä abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

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Table 6: History of Paruritawä-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shɨhowä-, Konabuma and Mokayäaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shɨrakoböwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewä-, Matakuwä-, and previous enemies, Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shɨrakoböwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewä's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowä's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwä's faction left to aid Karehewä and to avoid raids from Shɨhowä-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowä's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Boraböwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewä	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawä	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwä's village (Möwäraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mömariböwei Reyaboböwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

[Namowei-tedi Group]
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

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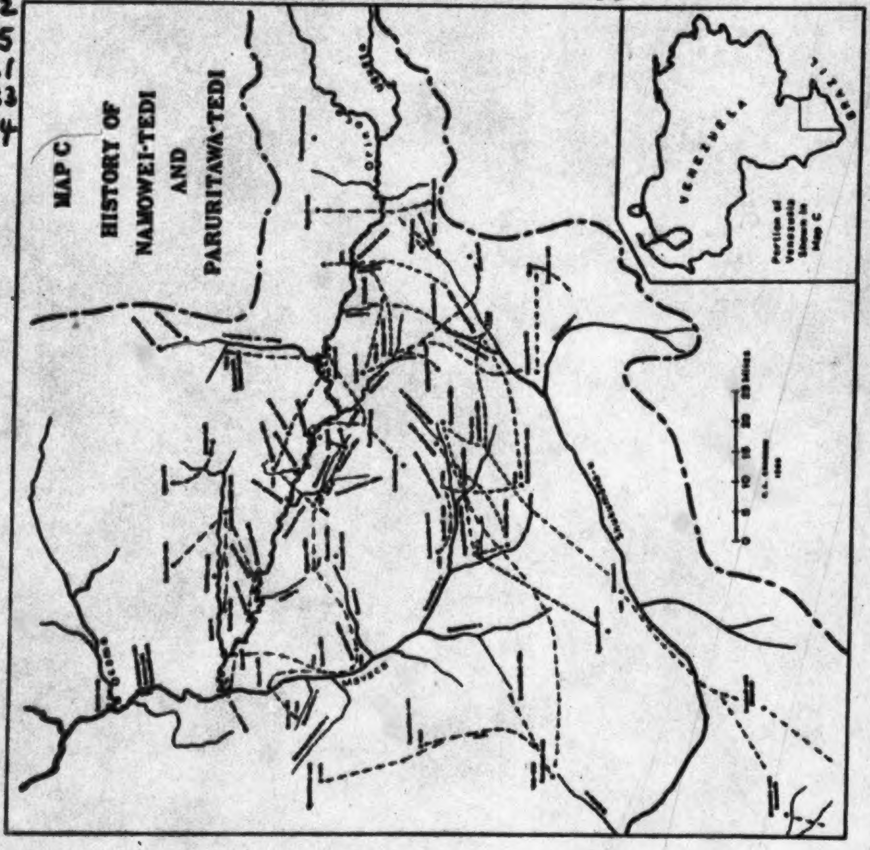

MAP C
HISTORY OF
NAMOWEI-TEDI
AND
PARURITAWA-TEDI

Orinoco
Ocamo
Mavaca
VENEZUELA
BRAZIL
Portion of Venezuela Shown in Map C
0 5 10 15 20 25 Miles

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● 361 marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken
174 place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-
*628
583 tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

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A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group

361 The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between
*128 ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly
[621] after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Paruritawä-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

174 Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)

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*628 While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on
*621 friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were
[582] just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages
[583] between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

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[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

The headman of Wareta-tedä, Shamaiyowä,
174 *628 and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the
574 latter's invitation, but Husirawä's group treacherously
527 361 killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to
241 participate in the raiding against their old allies, the
Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from
the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present
[581] [583] populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent
back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded
[175] women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-
tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

174 361 This area is quite mountanous and the group took its
722 name from one of the ranges, Namowei-käkö--"sharpness."
241 [133] They lived here long enough to make three different gardens
[101] (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to
[103] abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old
[176] enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north
and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved
west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-täka in ca.
1920.

174
Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

361 *628 The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi,
*621 were forced to abandon their site and move west. They
settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi,
splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi),
and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 195 The new garden at Hahoyaoba-tedi did not produce
● 361 satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one
241 south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-täka, and moved there
about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-täka

174 361 This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-
*621 tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-täka.

174 Three important events took place while the Namowei-
*628 tedi lived at Patanowä-täka. The first of these was the
726 development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date
[195] of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-täka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

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[134] [1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

174 Sever[illegible] marriage
*628 alli[illegible] were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one
726
583 of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with
Sibarariwä's group started, but these eventually broke down
before any women were actually exchanged.

174
*621 The second important event was the secession of a
*628 section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the
development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the ini-
*361 tiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi
*628
796 sections (Patanowä-tedi) and villages to its north; this
war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and
has dictated the movements of the Patanowä-tedi from the
time it began until now.

174 In order, the particulars of these three events are,
*628 briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with
731
721 the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a
number of years after they moved to Patanowä-täka. However,
[175] several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria)
about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the
Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against
them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called
Ruwahiwä, Sibarariwä's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwä, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered
Ruwahiwä with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby
avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwä was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

174 *628 only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was
73 living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service.
72 The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many
(583) women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowä-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rǫkuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowä-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

174 *624 (2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into tw[illegible]ctions,
578 each making a new garden further up the Shan[illegible]-u River and
* 361 abandoned Patanowä-täka. The move was stimulated by the fre-
241 (175) quency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep
174 peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm
245 trees each had planted at Patanowä-täka, and returned to col-
423 *628 lect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership
578 rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but
174 the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller
361 *628 (Brararaböwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 and returned to Patanowä-täka. A segment of the group that
*361 *628 returned to Patanowä-täka immediately began making a new
[241] garden (Shɨhota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowä-
täka, anticipating that further hostilities with the
174 Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club
*628 fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowä-
726 574 täka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders'
527 arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group
602 [361] at Patanowä-täka abandoned their village and rejoined their
agnates at the latter's new garden, Shɨhota-täka, whence
they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group
from Shɨhota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the
trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found
at Hasaböwä-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the
Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwä-
tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowä-tedi.

174 *628 With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-
726 tedi raided the Shɨhota-tedi and killed a younger brother of
Makuwä. The Shɨhota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-
tedi, killing Husiwä (Nabäyoma's husband), Hoari, and
Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the
Wanidima-tedi in which the Shɨhota-tedi lost Ushuenawä and
the two younger brothers of Paruriwä, and had one of their
women, Buhiomi, seized.

174 *628 Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi
724 and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shɨhota-tedi
361 were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one else-
241 where.

174
*628 where. In 1949 they moved from Shįhota-tåka to Kreiböwei, a
727
● 361 garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.
241
[175] (3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in
174 the mid '50s: Rashawä and Waiyari were the two new gardens
175 established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separ-
*621
*628 ation was actually completed in so far as each garden was
361 being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions
241 were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with
several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The
three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowä-
tåka, and became known as the Patanowä-tedi.

174 The war with the villages north of the Orinoco
*628 started when Yabitawä-tedi and Kashorawä-tedi men killed a
721
578 man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of
726
602 Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawä, was married to the sisters of
[622] the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi to
[583] avenge his death. A man from Patanowä-tedi was doing bride
[591] service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from
Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowä-tedi in the war against
Mahekodo-tedi. Snortly after this event, men from Yabitawä-
tedi visited Patanowä-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized
174 a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowä-tedi
726 then began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi, forcing them to take
*628
722 refuge with their allies, the Kashorawä-tedi. Hasaböwä-tedi,
then an ally to both Patanowä-tedi and Yabitawä-tedi, took
the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 the Patanowä-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowä-tedi were surrounded
726
*628 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowä-tedi,
722 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowä-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowä-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwä.

174
*628 By the time the Patanowä-tedi had gotten into this situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
• 361
602 Patanowä-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
722 agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwä-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowä-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowä-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowä-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowä-täka and Shamata-täka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowä-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shįhota-täka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi

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361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
722 from Shįhota to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, the
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[1] At this point the Patanowä-tedi returned to Patanowä-täka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawä.

174 175 Kreibðwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in
• 361 their raids against Patanowä-tedi. Shortly after they moved
722 to Kreibðwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari
*628 village, then under the leadership of Riakowä, located on
[574] the Mavaca River. The Kreibðwei-tedi began visiting Riakowä's
village and entered into feasting relationships with his
followers.

174 Riakowä's followers were related to the Shamatari
*175 628 with whom the Kreibðwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwä's vil-
602 lage. Sibarariwä persuaded Riakowä to invite the Kreibðwei-
527 574 tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned
[723] to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing
[721] this Sibarariwä would avenge the murder of his older brother,
Ruwahiwä, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier
by the Kreibðwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowä-täka.

174 The Kreibðwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and
*175 went to Riakowä's village in the dry season (i.e., December
628 527 through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwä's followers, along
•574 726 with a party of men from Hasabðwä-tedi, were concealed in the
[132] [411] jungle outside Riakowä's village. Shortly after arriving at
the village, the Kreibðwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowä's
men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were
killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades
were shot from ambush by Sibarariwä's followers, along with
the Hasabðwä-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large
174 175 number of Kreibðwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were
726 727 seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

174 175 men for the Kreiböwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
722 and a large number of Kreiböwei-tedi managed to escape.
[726] [103] These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakäkö where
[241] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-täka.
[752] Here, the Kreiböwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the
wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreiböwei-
täka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
*[628] after the treacherous feast the Kreiböwei-tedi were visited
by Shinanokawä, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his
followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the
Kreiböwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them
to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made
a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174 175 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreiböwei-tedi
721 *628 undertook a revenge raid against Riakowä's group. They
361 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreiböwei-täka as they proceeded from Riakowä's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

174 175 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreiböwei-tedi
361 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
241 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
*621 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreiböwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-täka was producing, however, the Kreiböwei-tedi decided

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175 to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There
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241 had been a number of club fights between the two factions
*621 over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started
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175 (Monou-täka and Barawä-täka) before the Kreiböwei-tedi left
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*621 Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The
578 splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other con-
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727 siderations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

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*628 The Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were
*621 planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women.
361 This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreiböwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi
[578] prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwä-
[721] tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank
174 of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that
195 the Kreiböwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi
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*628 and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the
[721] two men killed by the Kreiböwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

Area 9: Kobou-täka

174 175 The Kreiböwei-tedi parted with their protectors as
*628 soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site
241 only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou
• 361 722 and Barawä, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began
[103] producing. "Kobou" in Yąnomamö means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreiböwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-täka had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreiböwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

174 175 Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawä-tedi

*621 *628 After separating into two groups the Kreiböwei-tedi

174 175 *621 *628 remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

361 241 114 722 When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-täka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanaböwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

175 177 361 648 *[621] The faction that moved to Barawä remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawä-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreiböwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

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Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawä-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

*628 583 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

*361 *621 114 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawä-tedi

174 *621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowä-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawä (Shamatari) and Matakuwä. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, [195] [101] [361] there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowä-tedi. Kayabawä

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[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

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(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayäaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

[103]
The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-käkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

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Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawä's and Matakuwä's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwä's group, mentioning Kayabawä's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawä-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawä's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwä's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawä-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

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It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari
174 *175 village histories are more complicated than the one outlined
62 for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the
184 *36 Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and
began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the
data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words,
the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population
from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the
numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from
the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people
involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village
histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenom-
[177] enon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools
[412] in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of
[241] steel tools was the group called Shįhowä-tedi. Presumably
[161] the size of the populations involved is a function of their
agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded
earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to
steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other
Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred
only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

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[161] [1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

[Parurítawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-käkö

174 Matakuwä's group settled here after abandoning their
361 site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawä's
722 621 group. The village at Aramamisi-käkö, according to my inform-
[124] ants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwäraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawä-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Nömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174 175 A large segment of the population broke away from the
361 main group and moved to the Rahuawä-u River, splitting into
621 two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from
578 628 the Aramamisi-käkö population developed out of a feud over a
721 woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual
726 raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between
174 them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-
175 tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from
621 628 the original faction that separated from Matakuwä's group.
361 The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

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[103] [1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 175 others. Matakuwä's group was being raided by Kayabawä's
*621 followers and by the splinter group that separated from
*628 Aramamisi-käkö. These raids forced Matakuwä and his followers
[722] to abandon Aramamisi-käkö and settle at Shįrakoböwei. This
move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shįrakoböwei

174 175 Matakuwä's followers established several sites in
*361 722 this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawä's
*621 followers. An internal village feud developed between the
578 factions led respectively by Karehewä and Orakawä. During
174 175 the fighting a young man from Karehewä's group was killed
*621 361 with a spear, and Karehewä moved to the Mavaca basin.
726 Karehewä's followers raided the group at Shįrakoböwei, and
the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewä to move further
174 175 north. Karehewä's son, Riakowä, became headman of this vil-
622 *628 lage and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which
521 the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village
578 [103] is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowä's
*621 son, Börösöwä. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that
361 Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving
*621 down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted un-
114 successfully to make the first contact with this group, but
my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs
(bridges and trails) made by Börösöwä's group. They feared
Börösöwä would kill us.

174 *621 361 Another faction, led by Waiyahowä, split off from

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 *221 *361 [731] Matakuwä's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwä and his group separated from Orakawä and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shɨrakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwä and his followers separated from Orakawä's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwä decided to support Karehewä in the dispute over the death of a member of the [722] latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwä and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shɨhowä-tedi, who continued *[628] to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewä, Matakuwä [726] and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawä's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

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Area 3: Boraböwei

Matakuwä and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwä's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewä after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwä's group fled to Kayurewä, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

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361 Matakuwä's group had three factions. Oroshowä, a man belonging to Matakuwä's faction, took a woman away from her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwä's village to avenge the death of Biawawä, the man killed in the feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was unable to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's group to found their own villages: Warabawä-tedi, led by Hewariwä, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwä. These last two villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time, as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Missionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

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722 In about 1935 Matakuwä and his group moved to Kayurewä to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.

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*[628] [1] Warabawä-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabäyoma.

Area 4: Kayurewä

174 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwä's
175 *628 group at Kayurewä, so this site was abandoned in about 1940.
726 Matakuwä's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi
• 861 by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwä, who was killed while he
visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowä-täka. Ruwahiwä was
Matakuwä's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi
actively raided Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, and abducted a
large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages,
Matakuwä moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously
lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still
producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 *621 About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by
361 Matakuwä's group, the group split into two villages. One of
[622] them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwä's
[101] son, Sibarariwä. The other group moved to a branch of the
Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawä-tedi, led by
[578] Weiamamowä. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal
[721] feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each
other.

174 Sibarariwä's group remained at Konabuma for a short
361 *628 time after the Paruritawä-tedi separated from them, but raids
722 from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawä-
175 tedi themselves forced Sibarariwä's group to abandon Konabuma

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 175 and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few
• 361 years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobö-
*628 wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreiböwei-tedi was
722 [527] conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950
[574] [726] Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the
survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden
of Dądamoböwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids
mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to
174 Amąrokoböwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually
175 *628 became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure
574 some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and
527 726 Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which
three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964
361 *628 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca
726 River, being known as the Möwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and
[114] Mömariböwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this
location about the time I started my field work, and killed
one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

174 175 The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the
*628 Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered
527 574 into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the
726 Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members
of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid
of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four
[361] [722] women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

[Paruritawä̃-tedi Group]

174 175 *628 527 574 726 •361 *[621] [722] against the Paruritawä̃-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä̃-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mö̃maribö̃wei and Reyabobö̃wei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobö̃wei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä̃'s group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. *628 527 574 726 In February 1965 the Reyabobö̃wei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä̃'s entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä̃'s group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä̃-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä̃'s group.

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C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

[178] The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at [114] the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä̃-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen [722] different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä̃-tedi to venture away from the village.

721 The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives
722 they claimed, was that the Patanowä-tedi had to move fre-
• 361 quently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were
raiding the Patanowä-tedi, were being raided intensively also.
They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both
*[628] groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the
[372] [221] dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense.
[241] It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages
that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural
726 practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events
602 discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consan-
*628 guineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to
mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

*628 726 The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowä-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of
*[621] Patanowä in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a
[361] period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions,
the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out
of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after
1950, and each group entered into political alliances with un-
related neighboring villages.

728 In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two
574 *628 factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi
[581] began visiting Patanowä-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwä, was
[583] given two wives by the Patanowä-tedi. The rapprochement, how-
ever, was never effected and the political relationships between

726 villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mö̧maribö̧wei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi).
[764] [766] These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on
[245] the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transport-
ing plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next
several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay
[132] [221] their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season
in order to make it difficult for the Patanowä-tedi to raid
[361] them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at
*[628] the end of March both for military protection and for respite
from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the
Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would
be raided by the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to their own
village before the rains started. They also planned to raid
the Patanowä-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the
wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowä-tedi
[132] would be difficult once the rains started. They could return
[221] to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle
separating their village from the Patanowä-tedi is inundated
at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

[769] On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary
*[628] feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for
the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were
to include the Mö̧maribö̧wei-tedi, but they did not arrive as
scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only
a few Mö̧maribö̧wei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid,
and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mö̧mari-
bö̧wei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

726 [122] the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

* [361] The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on the 2nd of May. They killed one Patanowä-tedi at Shɨhota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the Patanowä-tedi. The Patanowä-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, Konoreiwä, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726 361 *628 [221] [132] The Patanowä-tedi could not avenge this killing until the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the Mömariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, raided the Patanowä-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the Patanowä-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the Ashadowä-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to Ashadowä-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

726 *683 • 361 return.

The Monou-tedi returned to their own village after this raid, angry because their allies refused to prosecute [241] the war more vigorously. They collected food from their garden and moved into their new site at Moyenaböwei, extending their garden. For the next two months the Monou-tedi lived alternately at Bisaasi-tedi, their old village, and their new garden, to which they carried food from their old one as needed. By now the Patanowä-tedi were raiding them frequently to avenge the attack of April 21, and signs of the Patanowä-tedi raiders were found numerous times at the old site of Monou-tedi.

The Patanowä-tedi were also moving between several gardens to avoid raids from their enemies. They lived alternately between Patanowä-täka, with the Ashadowä-tedi, and their new garden, Shɨhota. Moreover, they were actively engaged in another war at the same time. So effective were the Patanowä-tedi raids against the Hasaböwä-tedi that, in mid 1965, the latter had to abandon their site south of the Orinoco River and move to the north side near the village of one of their allies, Kashorawä-tedi. They made a new garden near Kashorawä-tedi and abandoned their old one.

726 The war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Hasaböwä-tedi had taken some unusual turns. On one raid in July, the Patanowä-tedi fired a volley of arrows into Hasaböwä-tedi's village, killing two women. A few weeks later the Hasaböwä-tedi deliberately waited for a woman, Huhuma, to come out of

726 Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*628
622 from them. Paruriwä seized upon this as his opportunity to
[554] advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated
several raids against the Patanowä-tedi without the support
of Kąobäwä. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Paruriwä was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman
(consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen
as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156
622 Paruriwä's behavior in other respects changed after
the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
[123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[593] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one
occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she
responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwä was
entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the
visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
*621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Paruriwä and his group separated from Kąobäwä's and moved
361
527 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
574 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could
initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up
until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kąobäwä as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during
the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how
much effort Paruriwä spent in emphasizing his own role in the
feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

*621
622 one real headman, Kąobäwä. Thus, Paruriwä had to separate
• 361 from Kąobäwä's group to achieve a status equal to that of
527
574 Kąobäwä.

728 In July 1965 Kąobäwä sent his brother-in-law, Kumamawä,
*628 to Patanowä-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend
622
574 to raid the Patanowä-tedi in the future. When Kumamawä returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowä-tedi trusted Kąobäwä and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowä-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Hąrokoiwä, Masiwä, and Koiyeiwä, arrived. Paruriwä's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowä-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kąobäwä, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kąobäwä, however, warned Paruriwä and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwä and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their
[203] plan. Finally, Paruriwä decided to desist from the murders
[606] and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowä-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kąobäwä's influence as a leader, and Paruriwä decided
*628 to move away from Kąobäwä's group after this incident. The
574 Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three
726
*621

*621 Moiyoawä had two wives, Borehima and her older
595 sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated
586
578 badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with
[592] another man, Makerawä. Moiyoawä attempted to get his wife
back from Makerawä, precipitating a club fight between two
factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawä
stabbed Moiyoawä with the sharp end of his club, wounding him
badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawä's faction, Rakoiwä,
who then attacked Makerawä, running him through with a sharpened
*[628] club, killing him. Makerawä's faction fled from Patanowä-tedi
• [361] and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that
the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids
726 against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the
*628 Patanowä-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowä-tedi two times
shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid
they caught two Patanowä-tedi men hunting outside the village.
[602] They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was
Kqabäwä's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not
want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man,
[115] Shinahewä. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I
learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was
[593] taken away from Makerawä's group. Moiyoawä cut both her ears
[684] off to punish her.

105 **Summary**

361 Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of
[128] the five villages. As the details of the text indicate,
considerably more village movement goes on than can be in-
cluded in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however,
[722] merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent
from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yąnomamö abandon
their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from
[134] other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a
village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was
abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another
exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the
[412] Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca
[177] River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning
of their sustained contact with foreigners.

105 The tables also show that there were ten village
*621 splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages
578
*628 considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to
721 feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that
were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each
other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in
the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in
Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of
their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed
out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by
large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately
entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases
the factions still remain on friendly terms.

721 101 131 accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct woemn.

184 (364) Another major difference between the Uraricaá and 184 the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra- 837 marital liaisons. 578 On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

184 *628 Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of 582 583 ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries 721 of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, 182 that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice 582 to follow marriage rules.

184 *361 *621 The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

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(114) [1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

184 occupying five different sites, each having its own house
361 and garden. These five groups recombined into a single
621 620 unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the south-
[722] west of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima
River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated.
On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized
site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when
184 raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than
721 on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of
[131] [133] Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in
this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of
warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Cor-
[361] responding to this increase in intensity is a change in type
of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of
the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically
or not at all to the northeast.

184 There is likewise an apparent cline in population
361 131 density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity.
721 161 Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and
more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the
Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction
in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However,
[177] another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more
contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the
northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they
184 live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that
048 721 the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

101 THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions
131 of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered vil-
161 lages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people
162 the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000
• 361 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by
101 outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are,
177 or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the
Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes
left in all of South America.

721 But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yą-
773 nomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according
181 to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos,
causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because
that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive
themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

114 I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some
122 proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and
123 ______ way of life.

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[94] [1] The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ɨ] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced at that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2] I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to 114
society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something 123
"good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of [121]
kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We
pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting [361]
my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into
the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men [515]
staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco [276]
were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous,
and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the
village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the
side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green
powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery [231]
was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling
me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook,
helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me
and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person
who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you?
They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the 114
day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that 123
morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting 726
war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided 114
to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were 123
like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

2

Adaptation

128 THE YANOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

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361 Kąobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yąnomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2-1).

137 The general area around Kąobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

128
126 [1] See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kąobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

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Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Toototobi River, Brazil).

TRAILS AND TRAVEL Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it. 487

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mömariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisaasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisaasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight. [484] [342] [485]

484 752 The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

484 221 629 132 Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet
484 499 season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

323 TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very
[562] easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

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[165] [2] Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 34 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[361] [3] The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants 000
are also said to have magical properties. 824

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a 105
very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated 433
crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and 182
the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world
to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political 182
environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over
the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of 361*
relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate 628*
themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met 361
when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is 241
selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would 722
remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a
particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary [578]
for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjust- 628*
ing to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal 621*
peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other 578
groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to [837]
killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to
leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden
long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop
unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then [628]
seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however,
the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the
two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when
raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri 621*
and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members 628*
of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within 578
the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each 722
other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2-8), in fact, spent
about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I
conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not [721]
completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon
their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of 241
the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move 628*
between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their 722
own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal 723
strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by 721
other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups.
The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from
them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered
the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other
villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total
number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the
hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against
a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting
women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations
to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing
themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2-8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years 361 •
is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by 722
Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated
on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee
south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta.
Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the
Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of
the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some
forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even [134]
to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a
level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into
two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at
that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shįhota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the
Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
*628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could establish
[241] gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri
to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned
after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
*621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä
and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish
[648] contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from
the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of
them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an upstream
[101] and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves
as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass
commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2-8, have a settlement
*621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
722 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much
184 earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the
fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked
as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2-8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above
two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri
(see Fig. 2-8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the
[134] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by
poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The
[648] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors,
[722] or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9]
[578] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

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[9] This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

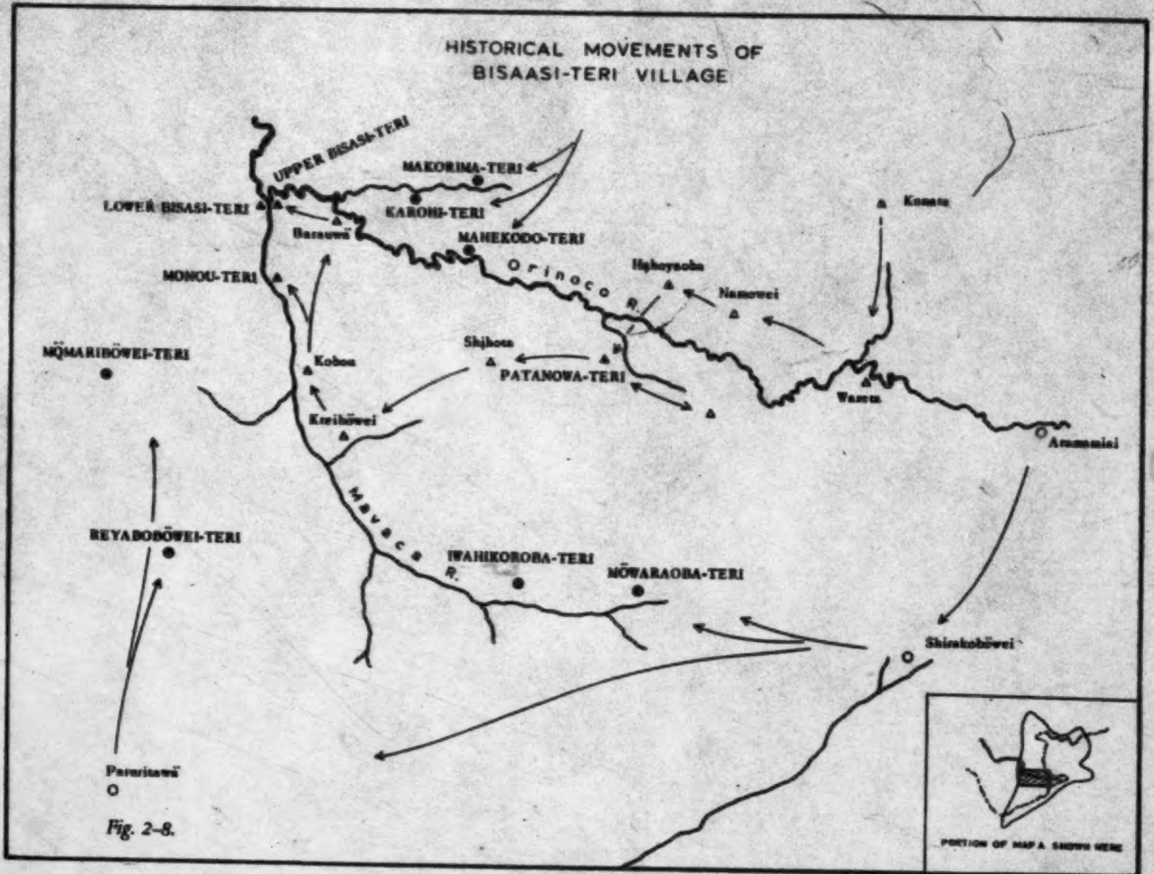
HISTORICAL MOVEMENTS OF
BISAASI-TERI VILLAGE
UPPER BISASI-TERI
MAKORIMA-TERI
LOWER BISASI-TERI
KAROHI-TERI
Barauwä
MAHEKODO-TERI
Orinoco R.
Hąhoyaoba
Namowei
Konata
MONOU-TERI
MǑMARIBÖWEI-TERI
Shįhota
PATANOWA-TERI
Kobou
Kreiböwei
Wareta
Aramamisi
Mavaca R.
REYABOBÖWEI-TERI
IWAHIKOROBA-TERI
MÖWARAOBA-TERI
Shirakoböwei
Paruritawä
PORTION OF MAP A SHOWN HERE

Fig. 2–8.

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133
361
166

361 villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

*628 361 241 722 Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

771 773 The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish [184] them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

772 THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2–4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duku kä misi*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*broke*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*suu pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

342 some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump. The four main posts of the individual house are then sunk into the ground, two short ones about 5 feet high at the back, and two longer ones about 10 feet high at the front (see Fig. 2-4, a and c). The rear posts are placed about 8 or 9 feet away from the front posts, and both pairs are approximately the same distance from each other as well. After these have been tamped securely into the holes, cross poles are lashed to the tops of them, and then long, slender saplings some 20 to 30 feet long are laid about a foot apart from each other on top of the cross poles and secured with vine lashings. Since the two rear posts are only about half as high as those at the front, the long roof poles protrude upward at an angle of 25 to 30 degrees toward the village clearing. A vine is then strung along the bottom of the long, protruding saplings, looped around each pole, and run the entire length of the house. The leaves used in the thatch have a long stem; the individual leaves are bent over the vine where the stem joins the leaf, and the first row of thatching goes on. When this row is completed, another vine, about 8 inches above the first one, is again strung along the entire length of the house and secured to each of the long saplings where it crosses them. The next row of thatch is then put in place; the leaf is inserted into the thatch of the first row of leaves and bent over the second vine. It overlaps the first row of leaves when it is bent down (see Fig. 2-5). The leaves are placed about an inch apart, resulting in a thoroughly impermeable roof. When the rows of leaves reach the two front main posts, a scaffolding is erected, and the roofing is extended to completely cover the entire length of the 30 foot saplings. A fringe of palm leaves is then hung from the top of the roof, adding a little decoration to the structure. An upright pole from the scaffolding is left to support the overhang, since the weight of the leaves might break the slender poles. These uprights, some 20 feet high, are spaced every 15 feet or so around the village.

[361] At this point the village looks like a series of individual houses arranged in a more or less neat circle, a gap of about 3 feet separating the individual houses from each other. These gaps are roofed over by the men whose houses are adjacent to them, and the village then looks like a continuous roof surrounding an open plaza. Some of the gaps are not completely roofed over in order to leave additional exits; the roofing is started at the lower crossbeams, giving an exit about 3 to 5 feet high.

[354] Small houses in some areas are simply round structures with a smoke hole at the top, such as the first house shown in Fig. 2-4a. The Yąnomamö *shabono* appears to have developed from such a structure by simply pulling the roof away from the center until the smoke hole grew so large that it, in effect, became a center plaza. Fig. 2-4a shows three house types that are found in Yąnomamö country. They are not so much distinct types as different sizes of a single type, the size being a function of the number of people the house shelters.

[354] Where the village is located at a relatively high elevation, palm fronds or banana leaves are placed in front of the house to keep the smoke, and, hence, the heat, in the house. At lower elevations these palm fronds are usually found only at the east end of the *shabono;* they are used to keep the bright rays of the afternoon sun out of the house.

A new *shabono* is very attractive; it smells of freshly cut leaves, looks clean and tidy, and is cooled by the breeze as it drops down into this tiny hole in the otherwise uninterrupted canopy of the forest.

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food 621*
theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned 628*
to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each [245]
tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one [423]
of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between [721]
the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included
Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away,
anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages
began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still
raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to 722
an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari 628*
villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of
Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which
Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba- 628*
teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, 574
including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December- 726
January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly 527
cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned 727
to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproduc- 361 •
ing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to 241
recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the
treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the
only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited
them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war
with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their
own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly
reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely 628*
stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

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[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking [797]
the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsider. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's [177]
group.

*628 spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live
*621 in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening
241 tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and
cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried
their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new
gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens
was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was
completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąobawä's group. This
[721] was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the
[726] Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed
two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the
war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

[361] Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived
[648] at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government
[177] malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River.
Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain
steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the
process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their
own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not
[221] complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they
occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding
parties.

*621 Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri,
*628 shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village
726 had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast
574 in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an
527 opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the
Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The
Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens
southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast
invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But
many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the
treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri,
secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the
hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the
727 women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge
*621 raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.
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*628 This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were
721 (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

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[115] [16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kąobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
609 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kąobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kąobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were
[613] half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kąobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par
with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the
[581] group—Kąobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only
[582] daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an
alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the
[591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will
[606] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kąobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kąobawä is related to
609 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a
[594] frequent visitor in Kąobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks
[613] that Kąobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kąobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kąobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and 342
could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village [361]
looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs
of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that 592
built it. Shararaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and [423]
shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's [593]
older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but [837]
when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in [513]
order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, [513]
but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid [855]
he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to
sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting 572
lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked [521]
by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep,
but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people
through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people [514]
leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise
they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been [831]
arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going
to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village
by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when [721]
they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not
leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait [712]
instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. [252]
This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the [262]
family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. [855]
Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it. [251]

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before [224]
it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in
conspicuous places. During the dry season the *bashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before
dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at
dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh [276]

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[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother h[illegible]laced her hammock too close to the fire [165]
in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she s[illegible] Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old wo[illegible]

burning it, and Kąobawä's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. 628*
They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new 722
site. Kąobawä's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they 241
knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kąobawä's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, 722
maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into 342
a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The 361
visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri 726
and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by [241]
Kąobawä's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing
there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasaböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *waiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasaböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasaböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that
always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved 722
into Kąobawä's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle 628*
was completely inundated by the rains.

Kąobawä's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mǫmariböwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kąobawä's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower